/383 cont./

Toward the end of my first interview, old Gumbula repeated to me the words which he had just stressed to one of the whitefella alone.

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the Telegraph, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Wanginbuwa] will see you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally flight away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (386).

> 386. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Gotet that I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Yolngu, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by Mind Wharton in the late evening of March 12, 1935. He addressed the whitefella, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful.

"In olden times a man left the Telegraph but and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /386/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yolngu!'

"Now I want to tell you whitefella everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the Telegraph. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/884 cont./

guarded this secret [the proceedings in this Great Hut] and just as I myself, now an old man, have never talked about it, so you, too, must keep deathly silent; this illusion [as though Yetā́jta really lived in the earth] is necessary. We must teach the uwā́ala that there is a Yetā́jta, so that they will be seized with fear and trembling. But we tell them this only so that they will believe in it. For that [this false belief] is good for them! -- Now you know it [the true situation]! But beware of now saying: 'Everything here [in the čiéxaus] is illusion.' If you were to say that, others would take the wrong view and might laugh scornfully and say: 'Everything here [in the čiéxaus] is a great fraud. One doesn't have to act according to what one is told there!' Therefore, be absolutely silent about Yetā́jta (307). But beware of

307. In this explanation the idea is again expressed that this evil spirit does not really live, but is only conjured up as an apparition for the benefit of the candidates. The latter are told about the special purpose of this procedure and are given the whole truth. But in order that this scary device does not lose its efficacy and will have its effect on the children who are later pledged to the initiation, no one may talk about the deception practiced on each candiate. They are very serious about this matter, as we have emphasized in footnote 305.

Watauineiwa, that is the real Yetā́jta (308).

308. This means that Watauineiwa threatens and punishes as a truly living spirit, in the way that this is maintained of Yetajta who, however, is only an invention.

"A person wishing to eat may not lie on the ground but must sit up, for Haučélla (309) sees you; he observes everything that

309. The uncommon reference here to this

/884 cont./

Kina[1] spirit is given as a warning in the way they usually refer to Watauineiwa and Yetaita. The meaning behind the whole sentence is that the candidates must never think that they are unobserved.

is given [as rules] here. One who wishes to eat must always have permission. Here you may not eat whatever you wish or desire, but only what is served you. The trees will see you [if you eat something that is against the rule]; they were once human beings and took part in the first kína festival (310).

310. This reference is to the great upheaval in connection with the women assembled for the secret Kina celebration. See Gusinde (bb): 337.

"It is not permissible [for uswáala] to throw [stones] at birds. If anyone does this, his arm will grow crooked (311). No one may

311. The candidates are in this way forbidden to start roaming about freely or to lose the solemnity of their stiff bearing when they go into the woods or along the beach unsupervised.

drink water /885/ before he is permitted. A person [an uswáala] going through the woods and hearing a sound should not look around. Even if someone should call him or frighten him, he should not look about, least of all if a boy [who is not uswáala] tries to lure a girl. Never imitate the akáčix (Turdus magellanicus, thrush) [in its chatter], for it carefully observes the uswáala (p. 726), and because it chatters, it tells everything [that it has heard from you] to the other birds. Anyone going through the woods should be silent and tend to his work along a straight path [without ambling about].

"You must grasp firmly the wood you have gathered so that [in carrying it] nothing falls down. Place it upright near the hut

[1] [Errata indicates this should read "yamalatemoiná" in place of "Kina"— Analyst.]

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X881 and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, otherwise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such things happen and it means: the wood that falls over wants to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: 'Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!' If the uswáala gathers wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: 'I shall fetch you later!' This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the uswáala says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: 'Why don't you come after me?' And it will threaten him: 'You will soon die!'

"A candidate who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [beech] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

X881 "From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider our customs (p. 503). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the canoe, you may not throw the left over bones into the water or /886/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During those days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones nor the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

/893 cont./
X 881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as uswáala in the čiéxaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

X 881 Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference
● 869 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinéiwa, is of higher moral value
776 as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole čiéxaus institution. Watauinéiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiéxaus is not a Yamana affair (317);

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /894/ Watauinéiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiéxaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinéiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the uswáala sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinéiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiéxaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinéiwa čikáia kalakanáa sakumášu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

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often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what

> 318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauineiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the ciexaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetájta. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetájta, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

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as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uswāala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetā́ita is not really this evil spirit. Yetā́ita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetā́ita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetā́ita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the čiexaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetā́ita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetā́ita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetā́ita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetā́ita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetaita and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiexaus hut is hailed with a loud call of hó ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetáita!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetáita who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetáita has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the uswáala must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetáita by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetáita in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the uswáala observe all the rules of the čiexaus. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetáita who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as

X881 /896 cont./
it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
• 869 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him.
776 This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

> 320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uswáala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
869 said, punished by Yetáita /897/ and taken away by him [through
776 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the
198 teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uswáala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetáita makes his voice heard (321). This

> 321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

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against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáita for the uswáala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

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I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the čiéxaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáita who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

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It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetájta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetájta, when in reality it is Wataųinéiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Wataųinéiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetájta. The latter appears in the kína. The participants of the kína celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetájta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Wataųinéiwa was impressed on the uswáala, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetájta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Wataųinéiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

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pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Watauinéiwa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Watauinéiwa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetáita, as though he were different from Watauinéiwa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the uswáala: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetáita with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the čiéxaus for the third time (328).

328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetáita has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetáita will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

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In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā́ita is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā́buan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā́buan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā́ita. Our men give all the calls that the uswā́ala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā́ita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā́ita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā́ita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yṓalox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

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their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of the Yoálox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first introduction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoálox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswáala adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoálox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

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same time the uš̌wį́ala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čį́exaus, to train the young people.

y. Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uš̌wį́ala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čį́exaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uš̌wį́ala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čį́exaus!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čį́exaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uš̌wį́ala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

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881 [515 177] the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

881 264 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

881 264 869 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiexaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

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Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hóhahahóh in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uǐwǵala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetǐjta. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetǐjta himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kěipif [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uǐwǵala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetǐjta is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

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X881 264 869 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the ulwáala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the ulwáala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetáita and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetáita.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the ulwáala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetáita!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the čéxaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hõxóx. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hõxóx is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

[272 262] One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid continuous calls of "hõxóx" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the čéxaus hut where they